United Nations S/PV.3511

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3511th Meeting

Wednesday, 29 March 1995, 12.30 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Li Zhaoxing	(China)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Germany	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation in Burundi

95-85236 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 12.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Burundi

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among the members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council is deeply concerned about the escalation of violence in Burundi. It condemns the murders of the Minister of Energy and Mines and of the former Mayor of Bujumbura by extremists, and deplores the ensuing ethnic killings of many people that have caused thousands to flee their homes. It stresses the futility of resorting to violence and condemns the activities of the extremist elements who try to destabilize the country and threaten the whole region. It encourages all States to take the measures deemed necessary to prevent them from travelling abroad and receiving any kind of support. It reaffirms its determination to support the Convention of Government of 10 September 1994, the provisions of which constitute the institutional framework for the necessary national reconciliation. The Council calls on all political parties, military forces and all elements of civil society fully to respect and implement it in a spirit of dialogue, moderation and compromise.

"The Security Council urges all parties to work together to further the dialogue. It underlines the urgency of organizing, in accordance with the Convention of Government, a national debate with the participation of all elements of the nation with a view to consolidating national reconciliation and restoring democracy. It invites the Secretary-General to help the various political parties and elements of civil society to initiate this comprehensive consultation.

"The Security Council warns that those who commit crimes against humanity are individually responsible for their crimes, and will be brought to justice. The Council specifically warns that if acts of genocide are committed in Burundi, it will consider taking appropriate measures to bring to justice under international law any who may have committed such acts.

"The Security Council reaffirms its view that the perception of impunity is a fundamental problem in Burundi, one which seriously endangers security in the country. The Council expresses once again its grave concern at reports indicating that systematic, widespread and flagrant violations of international humanitarian law have been committed in Burundi.

"The Security Council recalls the statement by the President of the Security Council of 9 March 1995 (S/PRST/1995/10), in which the Security Council, *inter alia*, underlined the role that could be played in Burundi by an international commission of inquiry into the October 1993 coup attempt and into the massacres that followed. It requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council on an urgent basis on what steps should be taken to establish such an impartial commission of inquiry.

"The Security Council favours measures to restore a state of law and improve the functioning of the judicial system. It also favours the organization of a round table of donors. It urges States to provide for these projects financial contributions directly or through a trust fund to be created for this purpose.

"The Security Council supports the reinforcement of the action decided by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and welcomes the dispatching of experts.

"The Security Council pays tribute to the actions taken by the Organization of African Unity (OAU). It calls upon the OAU and its members in the subregion to continue to use their influence to help stabilize the situation in Burundi. It further calls upon all States, in particular neighbouring States, to refrain from supplying or allowing the transit of arms and to deny sanctuary and any other assistance to those extremist elements which seek to destabilize the situation in Burundi.

"Aware of the close interconnection between various humanitarian and political problems in the region and of the risk of subsequent destabilization,

the Security Council reaffirms its support for a regional conference on peace, stability and security and calls upon the countries of the region to convene such a conference as a matter of urgency.

"The Security Council remains seized of the matter. The Council will consider taking action as the situation demands".

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1995/13.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

S/PV.
3512

Readex
Fiche

United Nations S/PV.3512

Security Council
Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3512th Meeting
Friday, 31 March 1995, 12.20 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Wang Xuexian	(China)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Germany	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau
	Honduras	Mr. Rendón Barnica
	Indonesia	Mr. Wisnumurti
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 947 (1994) (S/1995/222 and Corr.1)

95-85248 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 12.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 947 (1994) (S/1995/222 and Corr.1)

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) and Mr. Maleski (The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) took places at the Council table.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 947 (1994), document S/1995/222 and Corr.1. Members of the Council also have before them documents S/1995/242, S/1995/243 and S/1995/244, which contain the texts of three draft resolutions submitted by Argentina, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Italy, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1995/214, letter dated 22 March 1995 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1995/216, letter dated 22 March 1995, from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/1995/221, S/1995/223, S/1995/229 and S/1995/232, letters dated 22, 27, 28 and 29 March 1995 from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/1995/227, letter dated 28 March 1995 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/1995/236, letter dated 29 March 1995 from the Permanent Representative of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/1995/245, letter dated 29 March 1995 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/1995/246, letter dated 30 March 1995 from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations, transmitting the text of a letter of the same date from the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Croatia addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker is the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on whom I now call.

Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina): At the outset, let me take the opportunity to commend the fashion in which the delegation of China has held the presidency of the Security Council, and in particular to thank Mr. Li Zhaoxing.

Let me also take the opportunity to commend and thank the Permanent Representative of Botswana for the excellent fashion in which his delegation led the work of the Security Council last month, and in particular to point out the excellent efforts and work of Mr. Legwaila Joseph Legwaila.

If we are to judge the United Nations mission in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the commitment, courage and character of the individuals involved, then it must be ruled a success. The sacrifices that many have made, including the ultimate sacrifice, of life, amply support this conclusion, and we are not insensitive to it. We wish once again to express our appreciation to all those individuals and those nations that have volunteered their young men and women sincerely to serve the cause of humanity and peace in our country.

If we are to judge the United Nations mission in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the basis of its

fulfilment of humanitarian goals, then the verdict is unfortunately inconclusive. While we are truly thankful for every single life that has been saved, we must be bitter about all the lives that have not been reached to be rescued and, most critically today, about all the lives that, after three years of systematic human rights abuses, deprivation and sieges, continue to be endangered and subject to the whims of those who have proven their disregard for human life.

It must be clear to all of us that we cannot hope to keep a people alive indefinitely through delivery of food if they are targeted for eradication by all means available, from starvation and nutrient deprivation to sniping and shelling. Similarly, food delivered free cannot be a substitute for people's opportunities to earn their own food, to raise their families, to pursue their professional goals, and to see their society prosper.

Excuse us if we do not seem adequately grateful for the food that we are given, but after three years of sieges that the world Powers could have confronted and lifted by now, we believe the members of the Council should be thankful to us for, while our physical existence resembles that of livestock held in pens, fed but none the less surrounded and awaiting our fate, we in Sarajevo and elsewhere within our nation have continued to be the true believers in and the practitioners of the principles that members here preach from the comforts of their unaffected lifestyles.

We have had our commitments to tolerance, coexistence, human rights and democracy tested, and we have passed — not always without danger or setbacks, but we have passed. On the other hand, each one of you members of the Security Council must judge for yourself as to whether the response of your countries, your Governments, is consistent with the principles that you promote. Clearly, as a union of nations, this Organization, the United Nations, must be viewed as politically weaker, legally violated and morally weakened by what has been allowed to be waged upon our Republic.

UNPROFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been usurped. It has become a substitute for real peacemaking. After three years of this imposed role, UNPROFOR, as this substitute, must be judged a failure. Moreover, those behind the strategy of usurping UNPROFOR for the purpose of substituting it for peacemaking must be judged guilty also of allowing aggression and genocide to continue, of endangering international peace and security, and of betraying their responsibilities to this institution, the United Nations.

The betrayal of the League of Nations was unprecedented. The dangers to the United Nations, on the other hand, we cannot claim are unforeseen. The same apocalyptic mistake repeated again in the twentieth century could be judged only in the harshest of terms, including selfishness, prejudice and demagoguery.

Unfortunately, it appears that we have still not reached the bottom rung of Dante's Inferno in Bosnia and Herzegovina. UNPROFOR's limited success in providing humanitarian assistance is gradually sinking ever lower and, as critically, UNPROFOR's mission is actually being brought into contradiction with the overall efforts to bring about peace within our country.

For this reason, we have requested that UNPROFOR's mandate — and, in particular, its implementation — be comprehensively reviewed. In the performance of its humanitarian mission, UNPROFOR must strive to ascend to the level of its mandate, as given by the Security Council, in order to escape the downward spiral in which it is now caught.

The three-year siege of Sarajevo has now become the longest siege in modern history. It has become an institution, one that is both lamented and, unfortunately, tolerated by the Powers. To at least mitigate the symptoms of this siege, the lifeline to Sarajevo, the "Blue Route", must be taken under United Nations protection; the Sarajevo airport access routes must be freed of illegal Serbian roadblocks; and Sarajevo citizens must be liberated from the snipers and those once again raining shells upon them, who use human prey to promote the goal of political intimidation.

This is not something new that we request of UNPROFOR or something that requires fresh Security Council action. The Security Council authority already exists. All that is needed is the will to carry it out.

These are also essential steps for the efforts of Mr. William Eagleton, the Secretary-General's Special Coordinator for Sarajevo, to really move ahead with his responsibilities for the rebuilding of Sarajevo.

Of course, the authority already also exists for the siege of Sarajevo to be truly lifted. I say to the members of the Council that "your tolerance, even institutionalization, of this siege can no longer be

justified". The civilian populations of the Srebrenica, Zepa, Gorazde and Bihac safe areas are systematically deprived of the essentials of life by the besieging Serbian forces. According to the United Nations own reports, 20 per cent of the population of Bihac is at risk of starvation. Furthermore, while some food is allowed to pass, the Serbians have resorted to selectively denying certain less prominent essentials, such as vitamins, mineral nutrients, medicines and even soap and toothpaste.

This is a strategy of committing genocide by the pruning method. The Serbians hope to accomplish their crime by cutting down snippets of human life not noticeable to an increasingly disengaged international community until the entire tree of human life in places such as Srebrenica has been eradicated. We demand a response to this dastardly practice of human pruning through a more responsive and resolute plan — as has been already authorized by the Council — which should include, of course, the resort to air-drops and force if necessary.

Despite the numerous reminders citing the Geneva Conventions and the calls upon the Serbian military and political leadership to halt and reverse their practice of "ethnic cleansing", these crimes continue, abated only by the rapidly decreasing number of potential human victims — as is, in fact, pointed out in the Secretary-General's report of 22 March 1995. Efforts to date have not been adequate, and a more effective strategy must be devised to stop these crimes. That is the political, legal and moral responsibility of this institution.

Once again according to the Secretary General's report of 22 March 1995, the so-called Krajina Serbs continue to violate our international border, as well as the status of the United Nations Protected Areas within the Republic of Croatia, by their direct involvement in the assault upon Bihac. We request that modalities be established to stop these violations of our territorial integrity and sovereignty, emanating across our international border from areas ostensibly under United Nations control. We support the efforts of the Republic of Croatia to have these borders sealed.

Our regret is further amplified by the fact that we are deemed to be subject to an international arms embargo de facto restricting our capacity for self-defence and making us even more dependent upon the international community's responsibility for preserving international peace and security.

As already outlined in our letter to the Secretary-General dated 28 March 1995, the recent Serbian deployment of new anti-aircraft systems through much of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a direct challenge to the United Nations and its mandate in our Republic, and a threat to the individuals executing that mandate. It is the most serious factor, causing the greatest deterioration in the humanitarian, military and political environment in our Republic over the last year. We request that these illegal weapons within our borders be removed, or neutralized.

We continue to believe that those most urgent issues should be addressed immediately as the initial part of a more comprehensive review. We remain of the firm view that modalities and a time-frame must be established for the review. Most importantly, the review should incorporate the contributions of the Security Council, of the troop contributors, of interested regional organizations and Member States, of the Secretariat, and of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The efforts and tactics of UNPROFOR must be better coordinated with the strategy of the peace process and with peacemaking. Unfortunately, UNPROFOR's vulnerability — perceived or real — is manipulated by the Serbians to undermine the peace effort. More disconcerting, the tactics of UNPROFOR commanders are too frequently not consistent with the dynamics that are necessary to bring about forward momentum in pressing the Pale Serbs to accept the international Contact Group peace plan. Instead, UNPROFOR tactics are designed to promote the status quo, but they also have the effect of helping assure the Pale Serbs that they can freeze the situation on the ground.

The United Nations mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as it currently stands, can be only a temporary substitute for a real, comprehensive and durable peace in our country.

Confronted by a toothless international Contact Group, unwilling Western Powers, a muzzled NATO and UNPROFOR tactics promoting the status quo, it is no wonder that the Pale Serbs believe that their reality of conquest, "ethnic cleansing" and occupation on the ground will prevail over the paper maps, documents and words of the Contact Group peacemakers.

This is the plan of the Contact Group. We have not fashioned it or trumpeted it, nor are we enthusiastic about

it. None the less, we have compromised, and accepted this plan. We are sober about its mixed consequences and the reality of the long struggle before us to reintegrate our Republic and to bring a real peace to our people.

It also seems, unfortunately, that the Bosnians are once again the truest of believers, the most committed to this peace plan. While those that have fashioned this peace plan shy away from any compulsion to press the Serbians to accept the Contact Group peace plan, it is our own will, sacrifices and capacity to defend our Republic that are the most effective modalities for shaking the Pale and Belgrade Serbs from their intransigence and convincing them to accept even the minimum of compromise demanded of them by the international community.

It is our country, our territorial integrity, our sovereignty and the lives of our citizens that are at stake. It is your Council's, Contact Group peace plan. We have the unabridgeable right and responsibility to defend the former and the sincere desire to realize the latter.

We have made our choices and have supported them with words and deeds. Council members have also expressed their choices with words. Now let them be true to their words and follow through with the necessary deeds.

The President *(interpretation from Chinese)*: I thank the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the kind words he addressed to Ambassador Li Zhaoxing.

The next speaker is the representative of Croatia, on whom I now call.

Mr. Nobilo (Croatia): Allow me to congratulate the delegation and the people of the Republic of China for the able manner in which the delegation has discharged its duties of presidency throughout the month on the many important issues before the Council, in particular the issue of terminating the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Croatia. I should also like to commend the delegation of Botswana for its work in the presidency during the last month.

As the Council decides, at the request of my Government, to end UNPROFOR's mandate in Croatia effective 5 p.m. New York time, my delegation should like, most of all, to express its deep gratitude to all Member States that participated in UNPROFOR operations in Croatia and to the thousands of brave young men and women from around the world who saved many innocent lives and improved many others in Croatia. Too many of these young men and women have lost their lives, especially over the past few weeks, in serving the citizens of Croatia honourably. Their sacrifice will always be remembered by my Government and by the people of Croatia.

We should like to reflect also on both the gains and the shortcomings of the UNPROFOR operation. In evaluating UNPROFOR, it is important to distinguish between its role and the outcome of its presence in Croatia. Its role has been positive, but its mission has fallen short.

By its presence in Croatia over the past three years, UNPROFOR has contributed positively by keeping relative peace in Croatia and has given the international community time to establish a political framework and binding legal decisions that will assist in reintegrating the occupied territories and their residents into Croatia peacefully and in a manner consistent with Croatia's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The relative peace has enabled the international community to consider more closely the origins and consequences of the war in Croatia. As a result, the international community has passed binding decisions that, in Security Council resolution 815 (1993), effectively recognize Croatia's international borders by declaring that the United Nations Protected Areas are an integral part of Croatia; that, in paragraph 12 of Security Council resolution 820 (1993), recognize Croatia's sovereignty over Serb-controlled areas in practical terms by deciding that all international trade in respect of those areas needs prior approval from the Croatian Government; that, in Security Council resolution 871 (1993), recognize the responsibility of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) for the costly situation in Croatia by linking the international rehabilitation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to developments in the occupied territories of Croatia; and that, in General Assembly resolution 49/43, furthermore declare that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) must relinquish its illegal hold over the territories it occupies in Croatia.

The UNPROFOR mission has fallen short, not because of UNPROFOR itself, but because of the uncompromising resistance of the local Croatian Serbs and Belgrade. Consequently, my Government had to make a decision, as it did. Our objective now should be

to define a new arrangement that would limit the costs of Serbian intransigence in the occupied territories of Croatia and in the region in general.

Following the adoption of the draft resolution, as amended today, we will proceed to define the operational aspects of the new United Nations arrangements for Croatia. As I mentioned earlier, our objectives in defining the new arrangements should be focused on mitigating and overcoming the effects of the Croatian Serbs' intransigence and protecting the sovereign rights of Croatia, which have been clearly established in this Chamber and by the General Assembly, and are strongly reaffirmed in the draft resolution the Council is about to adopt.

In this regard, I should like to emphasize the letter from my President of 22 March addressed to the Secretary-General (S/1995/221) regarding the so-called Vance plan. The Vance plan has, in many critical ways, become an obstacle to progress in Croatia. We dispute the Vance plan *per se* as a legal basis for the new arrangement, since its legal ambiguity has inspired the Croatian Serbs' intransigence.

The Vance plan has become obsolete in the political and legal senses. It was introduced prior to Croatia's becoming a Member State, and, moreover, the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions I mentioned earlier have become the relevant legal and political framework for a solution to the problem of the occupied territories in Croatia. Croatia's sovereign rights cannot be compromised by the outdated, Vance-plan definition of "concerned parties".

Nevertheless, Croatia remains committed to the unfulfilled humanitarian elements of the Vance plan. We will continue to promote the plan's spirit of cooperation and good will, but the Croatian Government must emphasize that it has an exclusive right of veto in the upcoming negotiations over the operational definitions for the new arrangements within its sovereign territory. The international community and the Secretariat cannot deny this right, granted to Croatia by the Charter of the United Nations and by the relevant resolutions.

By accepting a new United Nations operation in Croatia, my Government is reaffirming its constructive role in the region, with a policy focused on a peaceful settlement of outstanding problems. This does not mean that Croatia will accept the shortcomings of the new arrangement implied in the 22 March report of the Secretary-General. Croatia expects that the new report by the Secretary-General will define the operational aspects of the new arrangement, in substance and tone, respecting the sovereign rights of Croatia and the resolutions of this Council and the General Assembly, while creating active and efficient operational mechanisms.

During the work on the new arrangement and the present draft resolution, which will be adopted today, one Member State, regrettably, expressed low tolerance for the legitimate interests of Croatia, a Member State, and instead directed efforts into forms of short-term political pragmatism, at the expense of legal and operative logic of the relevant United Nations documents. This development puts my Government in a position to begin questioning the role of that Member State in the peace process, a role which was positive until recently. Yesterday's official and media reports that confirmed my Government's earlier information about the transfer of Yugoslav Army personnel and matériel into eastern Croatia add to our concerns. My Government sincerely hopes that the consequent misgivings will come to naught and that the upcoming period, during which the operational aspects of the new arrangement will be defined, will show that the international community stands united in protecting the principles of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a United Nations Member State.

The name of the new operation itself, the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO), implies that this will be not merely a static peace-keeping operation, but an active, task-specific operation. The billions of dollars spent on a static UNPROFOR operation will be turned into a less costly, effective arrangement, with emphasis on civilian experts and specialists and less reliance on infantry soldiers alone. The tasks will focus on restoration of cooperation; redirection of economic relations; reintegration of people, by promoting confidence-building programmes; prevention of foreign interference, by controlling relevant international borders of Croatia; and normalization of relations between States in the region.

The success of this operation will be measured by the effectiveness of the border control mechanisms, as mandated in paragraph 3(d) of the draft resolution in document S/1995/242, and by implementation of paragraph 12 of resolution 820 (1993), as affirmed in the fourth preambular paragraph. Without effective deterrence of military support from Serbia and Montenegro, and redefinition of international trade for

the occupied territories of Croatia from Belgrade to Zagreb, the new operation will also fall short.

If these two aspects of the new operation are complemented by successful implementation of confidence-building measures, outlined in resolutions 871 (1993) and 947 (1994), by timely implementation of the economic agreement of 2 December 1994, and by the creation of new confidence-building programmes, it may be possible to significantly change the present situation in Croatia by the time the mandate of the new arrangement would expire, and avoid the eventual possibility of war. Confidence-building measures alone, however, will not bring us closer to peace in Croatia.

The new arrangement will require the number of international troops presently in Croatia to be significantly scaled back. Some troops will have to leave Croatia; the others may be relocated elsewhere in the region.

My Government has expressed its view — which is entirely justified from the point of view of operational efficiency and sovereign rights — that it should have some say in the structure of the new peace-keeping force on its territory. There have been many comments regarding this position of my Government. Some have been negative — implying the imposition of unacceptable criteria for selection.

My Government's motivation on this issue concerns the problem of illegal and unprofessional activity of some UNPROFOR units, which cannot be described as other than criminal. This has been a serious problem in some instances and has caused a lot of consternation in Croatia's public opinion, thus harming the image and lessening the potential of the present peace-keeping operation.

This, we believe, also harms the image and potential of the United Nations in the long run. Therefore, it is also in the interest of this Organization to address these problems in regard to the operation in Croatia and all others. Croatia will continue to insist on this element in particular, as we work with the Secretariat on finding the appropriate structure for the new operation.

My Government welcomes the draft resolution, as amended today, which not only recognizes Croatia's sovereignty over its occupied territories and defines its international borders, but calls for control and demarcation of these borders. The draft resolution gives the United Nations ample legal ground to fully control the relevant international borders of Croatia.

We attach the utmost importance to paragraph 3(d), which should be thoroughly planned and effectively executed. We firmly believe that a peaceful settlement in Croatia is possible only if this paragraph is strictly implemented. This border mechanism can be made effective by undertaking measures beyond those expressed in the Vance plan alone and by imposing punitive measures against violators, in the form of sanctions. We should take note in this regard that the Council has already established in resolution 871 (1993) that the sanctions regime imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) can be linked to developments in the occupied territories of Croatia.

Croatia especially welcomes operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution, which clearly states that the final political solution in regard to the rights of the Croatian Serb minority, whatever form it may take, must be consistent with the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Croatia. This paragraph, as well as the third and fourth preambular paragraphs, in no uncertain terms confirms and supports the territorial integrity of Croatia in its internationally recognized borders. We sincerely hope that both Knin and Belgrade will understand this message and finally accept the only possible way in which the solution to the occupied territories can be achieved: for Belgrade through recognition of Croatia, and for Knin through peaceful reintegration of the occupied territories into the legal and administrative system of Croatia.

We should also like to emphasize my Government's satisfaction that the Council came to support our demands that the name of the operation should confirm that the new operation will be carried out in its entirety on the territory of Croatia. The name of the new arrangement — the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia — meets the demands of Croatia's Parliament and my Government. Furthermore, for my Government, the acronym UNCRO cannot mean anything but United Nations Croatia.

If there were no rule that a host country cannot co-sponsor draft resolutions regarding operations on its own territory, my delegation would consider co-sponsoring the draft resolution, as amended today, because of its political significance: it firmly and indisputably confirms the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Croatia and clearly states that the new operation will be carried out in its entirety on Croatian soil. This does not mean that we are satisfied with all parts of the draft resolution. On the contrary, my delegation has already expressed its

reservations in regard to the wording of some paragraphs, due to lack of clarity and the way in which some prior resolutions are interpreted. We are especially concerned that the draft resolution does not give enough consideration to the imperative right of the hundreds of thousands displaced persons and refugees to return to their homes. We hope that the upcoming report of the Secretary-General will mitigate these concerns.

Finally, we should like to express our expectation that the new arrangement will be successful, because, unlike the case of UNPROFOR, it will have a precise political foundation. We hope that the mistakes of UNPROFOR will not be repeated, and that UNCRO will, in a reasonable time, achieve its goals of border control, confidence-building and reintegration of the occupied territories and their impoverished people into Croatia.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of Croatia for his kind words addressed to the Chinese delegation.

The next speaker is the representative of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, on whom I now call.

Mr. Maleski (The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia): I should like to express our appreciation of China's presidency of the Security Council this month.

Allow me, Mr. President, to extend the appreciation of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia of the work of the Security Council on the draft resolution concerning the new mandate — of the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force. The Government of the Republic of Macedonia pays tribute to the personnel of the United Nations Protection Force for the work that they have done so far.

The Republic of Macedonia — a country which achieved its independence through a policy of peaceful self-determination — expresses its readiness to work together with the Security Council in our common endeavour towards peace in the Balkans.

The President *(interpretation from Chinese):* I thank the representative of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for his kind words addressed to my delegation.

In view of the lateness of the hour I intend, with the concurrence of the members of the Council, to suspend the meeting.

The meeting was suspended at 1 p.m. and resumed at 4 p.m.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolutions before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the three draft resolutions to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Al-Sameen (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of my delegation and of my country, the Sultanate of Oman, I extend our sincere congratulations to the representative of China on his assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. I wish also to thank the representative of Botswana, Ambassador Legwaila, for the exemplary manner in which he presided over the work of the Council last month; my thanks go also to the other members of his delegation.

There is no doubt that the matter before us today, relating to the situation in the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, is of particular importance because of its effect on security in those three Republics and, indeed, on the prospects for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

We would underscore the crucial role of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in fostering hopes for peace and in improving living conditions there. Yet we agree that a United Nations military presence does not in itself constitute a final solution; it is an interim measure of limited duration during which the parties must be helped to achieve a final, comprehensive settlement of their dispute. My country believes that the parties concerned bear primary responsibility for achieving true peace in conformity with the expectations of the international community.

With respect to the United Nations Protection Force in the Republic of Croatia, we share the concerns about the international military presence there coming to an end, while we also understand why the Government of Croatia took this decision. We welcome the recent decision by the Government of Croatia to permit

international forces to remain on the territory of the Republic.

Work is under way towards a solution for the area held by the Croatian Serbs that shows due respect for the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia. While the number of United Nations personnel in Croatia will be reduced under the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO), we believe that the number of personnel should accord with the mission and tasks entrusted to the Operation so that UNCRO can carry out the mandate assigned to it by the Security Council on the recommendation of the Secretary-General in his report (S/1995/222 and Corr.1). We trust that it will be enabled to discharge its mandate as completely as possible.

The United Nations Protection Force in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is primarily a preventive operation. We express our satisfaction at the cooperation that has been established between the United Nations and the Government of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. We believe that such cooperation is necessary, and of great importance for ensuring the success of any effort by the international community to dispel the spectre of war that has been hovering over the region.

We recognize the crucial role that could be played by the United Nations Protection Force to improve the humanitarian situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to help the parties implement the agreements they have achieved. We urge UNPROFOR to make the best use of its possible assets and powers to carry out its mandate fully, including use of the support under the mechanism agreed upon between the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In that connection, we call upon UNPROFOR in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to continue its coordination with the legitimate Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while also taking account of the views and proposals submitted within the framework of the confidence restoration process there; this could facilitate the work of the international Force and improve prospects for security and stability in the region.

My delegation welcomes the role played by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in helping the parties arrive at a peaceful settlement. We also wish to express our full support for all efforts made towards that end by, amongst others, the members of the international Contact Group. We also call upon the countries of the region to recognize the independence and sovereignty of all the States in the region within their internationally recognized borders. We believe this is a necessary measure if the international community is to demonstrate its good will and its resolve to achieve comprehensive and lasting peace in the region.

In conclusion, and in keeping with what has been said here by members of the Security Council and in the spirit of consensus, my delegation wishes to state that it intends to vote in favour of the three draft resolutions now before us.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of Oman for his kind words addressed to the Chinese delegation.

Mr. Wisnumurti (Indonesia): Let me begin by expressing my delegation's congratulations to you, Sir, on your country's assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month, which will end today. Ambassador Li Zhaoxing's leadership and wisdom have indeed been evident during his tenure. I would also like to express my delegation's deep appreciation to his predecessor, Ambassador Legwaila of Botswana, for the excellent manner in which he guided the Council last month.

Allow me now to express my delegation's sincere appreciation to the sponsors of the draft resolutions on the United Nations peace-keeping Force in the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. As my delegation has already expressed Indonesia's basic views during prior consultations, I shall confine my remarks to just a few issues which my delegation considers of particular importance.

The international community has indeed shown its serious concern as it has sought to resolve the conflicts that erupted after the break-up of the former Yugoslavia. The search for a negotiated solution to these conflicts has proven to be an extremely difficult task. In this regard, we would like to commend the achievements of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in preventing a further escalation of hostilities and in playing an important role in the peace process in all three areas of its operation. We would also like to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General, Mr. Thorvald Stoltenberg, the present and previous Force Commanders, and the courageous and dedicated women and men of UNPROFOR for their

devoted efforts in the service of the United Nations and of peace in the former Yugoslavia.

We share the Secretary-General's observation that UNPROFOR's activities in the Republic of Croatia have generally succeeded in establishing the cessation of hostilities essential for initiating political dialogue. Furthermore, my delegation would like to point out the positive role played by UNPROFOR in the implementation of the Cease-Fire Agreement of 29 March 1994 and in support of the implementation of the Economic Agreement of 2 December 1994, which have been positive steps towards confidence-building and reconciliation.

However, we are also fully cognizant of the concern expressed by the Government of the Republic of Croatia regarding the lack of progress in the political dialogue, which contributes to the perception that the UNPROFOR presence has merely reinforced the status quo. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia within its internationally recognized borders cannot be compromised. This must also remain a guiding principle for the United Nations presence in the Republic of Croatia and in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the context of the actual nature, size and function of the new United Nations operation in the Republic of Croatia — the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation (UNCRO) — we would like to stress several points. Firstly, the importance of controlling the crossing of military personnel, equipment, supplies and weapons over the international borders between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) cannot be overstated. Secondly, we would like to re-emphasize that the strength of the troops not only should be adequate for the implementation of the Operation's mandate, but, most important, should have a deterrent function. Lastly, facilitating the delivery of international humanitarian assistance to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina through the territory of the Republic of Croatia is a crucial element of UNCRO's mandate in the Republic of Croatia.

With regard to the operations in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we recognize UNPROFOR's past achievements and setbacks as well as the extreme difficulty it continues to face in attempting to stabilize the situation on the ground, a stabilization which is necessary if an atmosphere conducive to political negotiations is to be established. In the light of these recent developments, which have caused grave concern in the international community, all parties are called upon to cooperate with UNPROFOR.

In this context, my delegation would also like to draw attention to the past discrepancies between UNPROFOR's mandate and its implementation, and would like to emphasize the importance of effective implementation. In this connection, my delegation wishes to emphasize the importance of the tenth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/243, on the need for Member States to take appropriate steps to enhance the capacity of UNPROFOR in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to execute its mandate as set out in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

Undoubtedly, the political climate requires much improvement, and the international community is called upon to intensify its efforts to promote political progress. In this context, my delegation would particularly like to commend the efforts undertaken by the Contact Group. We encourage the international community to continue its support for these positive efforts in bringing about a peaceful settlement to the conflict.

Furthermore, we would also like to express our appreciation for the role of the preventive deployment force in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The importance of the actions by UNPROFOR in this area, for which both the Government and the ethnic Albanian leaders have expressed their appreciation, should be underscored. We support the continuation of these positive efforts under the newly mandated United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP).

Let me conclude by expressing, on behalf of the Non-Aligned caucus, our sincere appreciation to the sponsors of the draft resolutions before us for their cooperation and constructive approach during the negotiations. On behalf of the caucus, I would also like to express our deep gratitude to the Ambassador of Croatia, the Ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Ambassador of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for their contribution to the caucus's work.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of Indonesia for his kind words addressed to the Chinese presidency and to Ambassador Li Zhaoxing.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): First, Mr. President, I must congratulate Ambassador Li Zhaoxing, through you, on the efficient manner in which he guided the deliberations of our Council during the month of March. He certainly deserves a day off to enjoy some sun in the beautiful Caribbean.

The delegation of Botswana welcomes the report of the Secretary-General, contained in document S/1995/222 of 22 March 1995, regarding the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The report has proved most useful, not only as a source of information on the latest developments in the Balkans, but also as a guide in the preparation of draft resolutions before us.

We mourn the deaths of the 152 peacekeepers who have lost their lives in the former Yugoslavia. We bow our heads in appreciation of the supreme price they have paid in the service of the international community. The situation in the former Yugoslavia would definitely be much worse without the Blue Helmets and the sacrifices they have made. The draft resolutions before us today are another demonstration of the commitment and determination of the United Nations to keep the peace in the area in very trying circumstances indeed.

In Croatia, we welcome the statesmanship of President Tudjman in rescinding his decision demanding the withdrawal of the United Nations forces. The continued presence of the United Nations forces in Croatia in one form or another will contribute in no small measure to the stabilization of the country and to the provision and distribution of humanitarian assistance to those most in need. The present draft resolution may not have given President Tudjman everything he desired to have, but that can be expected in any negotiation process. The people of Croatia should be thankful for the presence of UNPROFOR in their country during the past three years, for we wonder whether Croatia would have been able to save itself, in the prevailing circumstances in the Balkans, left to its own devices.

We hope the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) will enjoy the unqualified support and respect of all its intended beneficiaries. The conclusion of the status of forces agreement at an early date is a must, and would be most welcome.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, we wish to thank the men and women of UNPROFOR and the troop contributors for a job well done in a very difficult situation. Their efforts and sacrifices have been crucial in both the protection of lives and the safeguarding of the rights of minorities, as well as in the distribution of humanitarian assistance.

Botswana supports the proposed continued presence of UNPROFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina for a period of eight months with the same mandate. The sudden deterioration in the military situation in the troubled Republic is a source of serious concern to my delegation. It is most regrettable that the lull created by the cease-fire agreement of December 1994 has somehow been used to plan for new offensives. We find this most unfortunate indeed. We would have wished the cease-fire period to be used productively in soul-searching reflections on the futility of war and the efficacy of diplomacy and patient negotiations as instruments for seeking solutions to differences between peoples. We are confident that these reflections would have improved the prospects for a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Bosnia.

The current offensive by Government forces, as well as the shelling of civilian targets inside the safe areas by the Bosnian Serbs must cease, if they have not ceased. We call upon all sides to desist from violations of the cease-fire which could lead to a prolongation of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I wish to stress the importance my Government attaches to a further extension of both the cessation of hostilities agreement and the cease-fire agreement.

The primary task of UNPROFOR as a preventive peace-keeping mission in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has been a great success. This is one of the first United Nations experiments in preventive action, and it has shown positive results. This is a good lesson for the United Nations. It is for this reason that Botswana supports the extension of the United Nations presence until 30 November 1995 and the change of UNPROFOR's name to United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP).

The success represented by UNPROFOR in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia does not, unfortunately, apply to the search for a solution to the political situation in that country. We hope that the Government of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the various ethnic groups therein will soon find an amicable solution to their differences and work together to bring peace and stability to their country.

We should also like to urge The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to pursue, through the joint border commission, and with the assistance of UNPREDEP, the establishment of a clear international border between the two countries within the period of the extended mandate.

The President: I thank the representative of Botswana for his kind words, which I will convey to Ambassador Li Zhaoxing. I believe that he will bring some beautiful sun back from the Caribbean to share with all members.

Mr. Graf zu Rantzau (Germany): Despite enormous efforts by the international community, the search for an overall negotiated settlement of the conflicts in former Yugoslavia has not yet yielded the desired results. The evil forces of conflict, hatred and nationalism continue to haunt the former Yugoslavia.

The situation in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia continues to be endangered by external and internal tensions. As a manifestation of German support, Federal Foreign Minister Kinkel will visit Skopje on 11 April. We fully support the continued presence of the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP) in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and we expect that it will continue to work in close cooperation with the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, which is presently conducting negotiations between the Government and representatives of the Albanian parties in the country. In the light of the previous contribution of the Force to peace and stability, we are confident that it will live up fully to its new name, which in our view seems very appropriate.

We are deeply concerned by the steady deterioration of the overall situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. While the Bosnian leadership has made the courageous choice to negotiate, the Bosnian Serb leadership in Pale remains intransigent in its defiance of the international community. It is therefore necessary to maintain the international political pressure and the isolation of the leadership in Pale. The Pale leadership must also be held responsible for the persistent "ethnic cleansing" in the Banja Luka region, a practice which we again condemn in the strongest terms. We reiterate our demand that the Bosnian Serbs accept the peace proposal of the Contact Group and thus open the way to a peaceful settlement.

The agreements on a cease-fire and on a complete cessation of hostilities, concluded last December, must be respected by both sides. During his recent visit to Bonn, President Izetbegovic stated that even after the expiry of the four-month cease-fire Bosnian Government forces will not take the offensive. We demand of the Bosnian side that it strictly adhere to this commitment. Military actions will not solve, but only exacerbate, the conflict in Bosnia. What is needed is a political settlement. The continued presence of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina will help to bring about the necessary conditions for such a political solution.

The fact that a new mandate for the presence of the United Nations in Croatia has become necessary is, in our view, a consequence of the obstructive attitude of the Croatian Serbs with regard to the United Nations peace-keeping plan for the Republic of Croatia. The Serbian side has never respected its main provisions concerning, in particular, the demilitarization of the United Nations protected areas, the return of the refugees and displaced persons and the establishment of a precisely defined local police force. By this persistent non-implementation, the Croatian Serbs have, in practice, made the Vance plan largely irrelevant. The Serbian refusal to implement the Vance plan has thus become the major problem also for UNPROFOR in Croatia.

Under these circumstances the often-stated "adherence" of the Croatian Serbs to the Vance plan is obviously more of a rhetorical and tactical nature. One can clearly see the intention to freeze the status quo in Croatia and to further delay a political compromise with the Croatian Government until a de facto secession becomes feasible.

We are of the opinion that any political concept of the Croatian Serbs other than regional autonomy in Croatia is unrealistic.

We welcome the decision of President Tudjman to agree to a continued but modified peace-keeping presence of the United Nations in the Republic of Croatia. We share the view that the three-phase process of negotiations — cease-fire; implementation of the Economic Agreement; political negotiations — is the only practical path to durable peace. We welcome the fact that this is also the basic approach underlying the mandate of the planned United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO), which we fully support.

We agree with the view, expressed in the draft resolution on Croatia, that UNCRO shall be an interim

arrangement to secure the necessary peaceful conditions for a negotiated political settlement. Within this framework, which has been established in accordance with the European Union action plan, through the Cease-Fire Agreement and the Economic Agreement, it is now crucial that the conflicting parties make full use of the peace plan of the Zagreb Four and enter into genuine and serious political negotiations on a final settlement.

At the same time, we note with concern the continued refusal of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to formally recognize the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia within their internationally recognized borders. This prevents the convening of the international conference in Paris, with the participation of the three Presidents, which Foreign Minister Juppé, on behalf of the European Union, proposed and which my Government continues to support. Thus the lack of readiness on the part of President Milosevic for mutual recognition of all the States of the former Yugoslavia within their internationally recognized borders continues to block the peace process.

We believe that continued close cooperation between the now three peace-keeping operations - in Croatia, in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia — and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) will be absolutely essential. NATO's support through all phases of these operations, including necessary measures to ensure the security and safety of their personnel, is vital.

UNPROFOR's contribution to the international community's efforts towards peace has been invaluable. The adoption of the three draft resolutions currently before the Council will also mean that more than 39,000 men and women will continue to serve the cause of peace in the former Yugoslavia. They do so under complex and dangerous conditions, often in a hostile environment, in which already 155 Blue Helmets have lost their lives. We stand with those who pay them a solemn tribute today.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): For the Czech Republic, the conflicts in the Republic of Croatia and in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina are of tremendous concern, and we follow them with the utmost attention, for a number of reasons. One is the cultural and historical affinity the Czechs have had for many decades — one might even say centuries — with South Slavs. Another is the geographical proximity of these conflicts to our own region of Central Europe. Yet another is the daily reminder that the conflicts provide us of that fact that similar turmoil, but for the grace of God, might have affected our own people if Czechoslovakia had not separated quite as peaceably as it did.

These are some of the reasons that have led my country to contribute significantly to the strength of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), having provided a mechanized battalion which is now operating in Croatia. We are, or have been, involved in other international activities in the area as well, including earlier missions of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), operations of the Mission of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), the sanctions missions on the Danube and the monitoring mission of the European Union. This, too, is why we were keen to be a sponsor of the three draft resolutions at hand today.

Czech diplomacy has always felt that the most critical relationship in the area is that between the Croats and the Serbs. Other conflicts, though equally bloody and desperate, would be less intractable if the fundamental Croat-Serb conflict were resolved. And it is in Croatia that UNPROFOR has been facing a particularly vexing task. Croatia's authorities have on a number of occasions eloquently expressed their dissatisfaction with certain consequences of UNPROFOR's presence there, unintended though they surely were. They have been particularly concerned about the danger of solidifying the internal division of the country between areas directly controlled by the Croatian Government and those under the control of local Serb authorities. The Security Council's not having managed to address these concerns effectively enough probably contributed to the decision not to allow the continuation of a United Nations presence in Croatia in its present form.

However, UNPROFOR's leaving Croatia without any replacement would have left an extraordinarily dangerous vacuum. Czech foreign policy has warned against the consequences — again, possibly unintended — that such a step might have had, including the opening it would have offered to the war parties on both sides of the ethnic divide. We welcome President Tudjman's decision, in the end, to agree to a United Nations presence in his country - a force for which we are today coining the term "United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia" (UNCRO). We also welcome the international diplomatic efforts that have led to this conclusion — wishing, perhaps, to highlight the spark-plug role played by United States diplomacy.

While many aspects of the situation in Croatia are worrisome, one is definitely encouraging: namely, the Economic Agreement between Zagreb and Knin of last December. This agreement has not remained a dead letter, but is in fact being infused with real content. Infrastructure lines, from highways to power lines to pipelines, are once again turning into lifelines. We hope that economic cooperation will take on a logic and a dynamic of its own and will have salutary spill-over effects on political dialogue and rapprochement as well. It is a part of UNCRO's mandate to help implement this important Economic Agreement. We are also encouraged by the positive approach the Croatian authorities have taken *vis-à-vis* the so-called Zagreb-4 plan, which offers a possible way out of the country's political impasse. We call on both sides, and in particular on local Serb authorities, to enter into negotiations, urgently and without preconditions, and to make full use of that plan.

As the new United Nations peace-keeping force is to be deployed on Croatian territory, we urge the Government of the Republic of Croatia to settle without delay an agreement on the status of United Nations forces and other personnel and to provide the United Nations with suitable radio broadcasting frequencies and television broadcasting slots, as described in the relevant report of the Secretary-General.

The conflict in Croatia is not unfolding in a vacuum, to state the obvious. Activities of the Knin Serbs are clearly associated with those of Pale Serbs, with the attendant danger of conflicts escalating in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and beyond. As for Bosnia, our rejection and denunciation of the brazen claims of Pale Serbs to more than half of the country's territory, and of their intransigence with respect to the Contact Group peace plan, is well known. We are, nevertheless, disquieted by the steady erosion of the four-month cease-fire in Bosnia. We had welcomed this cease-fire as providing an opening for serious talks — but the opening is fast closing up again. As a possible preview of coming attractions, belligerents are striving to expand the territory they control by force, and appear to be using the winter lull not to negotiate for peace, but, rather, to prepare for war, for another spring offensive. Lamentably, playing the military card will surely increase the number of victims without significantly shifting the battle lines — and hopes for peace, slim as they are, will recede even further.

We feel very strongly that no resolution of this Council can be successful unless and until the belligerent parties themselves are ready for peace and working for peace. And in this context we feel that UNPROFOR itself, now limited only to the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, will have slim chances of being successful in fulfilling its mandate if the cease-fire is not adhered to and extended beyond its current expiry date.

The draft resolution we are voting on today with regard to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is the one with good news. In that country, the United Nations has demonstrated that preventive military deployment can work, and this fact is appropriately reflected in the new name of the operation there — the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force, or UNPREDEP. Thanks to the operations of the United Nations Protection Force, the situation has been stabilized, certainly in so far as preventing the eruption or further expansion of open conflagrations is concerned. Lessons from there may well be applicable to other parts of the world as well.

The war-torn countries of the South Slavs have seen any number of peace plans come and go. My Government is in principle prepared to respect any solution to the crises that the belligerent parties agree upon, provided certain basic principles are adhered to. One such is respect for the territorial integrity of all the States in the region, within their internationally recognized borders. Another is the provision of serious guarantees for the protection of human rights and the rights of all minorities.

We have repeatedly pointed out our belief that the mutual recognition of all States of the South Slavs would provide an important impetus for exiting from their crises. The proposed summit meeting of representatives of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina might offer one occasion to take this step. A more helpful approach on the part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia authorities would be of particular importance and would without a doubt meet with an appropriate response from the international community.

I mentioned earlier some of the players instrumental in seeking ways out of the Balkan turmoil, despite what at times appear to be formidable, even insurmountable, obstacles. We salute the efforts of the Member States of the Contact Group. We welcome the continuing efforts of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, United Nations officials, the European Union and other international players, as well as those of all forces of

peace that are making themselves heard through the clamour of war in the countries themselves. Our gratitude goes also to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for its support of the United Nations role in the region. Above all, though, we salute the soldiers of UNPROFOR. We extend our sympathy to those who have suffered injuries and mourn those — and there have been far too many of them — who have made the ultimate sacrifice in the name of the solidarity of our United Nations.

Mr. Rendón Barnica (Honduras) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: Mr. President, my delegation would like to congratulate you most sincerely on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and on the excellent and effective work you have done. We would also like to thank your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Botswana, for his excellent performance in February.

My delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for the report submitted pursuant to resolution 947 (1994) of 30 September 1994.

The events which have occurred in Croatia, and which have heightened tensions in that country in recent months, are a source of concern for the international community in general and for the Government of Honduras in particular, because they show that, far from cooperating with the United Nations in the quest for an overall negotiated settlement of the conflict which would guarantee Croatia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, the parties have persisted, through mutual suspicion and mistrust, in thwarting the advances made in the peace process in the past year.

The Cease-Fire Agreement and the Economic Agreement in Croatia, which should have enhanced trust and achieved reconciliation, have been affected by the parties' lack of will to begin serious political negotiations. This lack of progress has been accompanied by other factors: the decision of the Government of Croatia last January to withdraw its support for the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), a decision that was not reconsidered until 12 March last; the declaration of a state of immediate war alert by the Knin Serb Assembly; the military mobilization of the parties towards the interior of the zone of separation in anticipation of the termination of UNPROFOR's functions; the military alliances of the Krajina and Bosnian Serb armies on the one hand, and of the Government of Croatia and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the other; and the postponement of negotiations and of all means of implementation of the Economic Agreement. These are all facts that increase military tension and uncertainty between the parties and make us wonder whether the parties are really interested in finding a peaceful solution to the conflict.

It has been said many times here that United Nations peace-keeping operations can function only with the full consent and cooperation of the parties. Similarly, it has been stated that these operations are provisional arrangements or mechanisms to help establish lasting peace on the basis of agreement between the parties; they are not intended to impose solutions, nor are they empowered to do so.

Over the past three years, UNPROFOR has contributed to the cessation of the hostilities in Croatia and has played an important role in protecting minorities in the United Nations Protected Areas. Along with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, it continues to assist in facilitating the voluntary return of displaced persons to their homes, in the transportation and distribution of humanitarian aid and assistance to UNHCR, and in the protection of refugees in the Bihac enclave and the Banja Luka area. However, these UNPROFOR activities do not yet enjoy the necessary cooperation of the parties. There is a lack of cooperation with the military units in the Separation Zone. The restrictions on the movements of the military observers in tactically important areas have been tightened. The Serbs are blocking the passage of humanitarian relief convoys and supplies through the Protected Areas. United Nations security personnel are being put in danger. Finally, there is no evidence of real cooperation to ensure that UNPROFOR's presence will be productive.

There has at least been a recognition that a total withdrawal from Croatia by all peace-keeping forces would have negative implications for peace and security, not only in Croatia but throughout the region. It has been said that keeping a reduced force in Croatia will limit the risk of conflict and make it possible to continue the economic agreement and initiate political negotiations, but that will depend on the mandate.

In this connection, my delegation concurs with the Secretary-General's recommendation that the mandate and functions of the new Force will have to include support for the implementation of the cease-fire agreement of 29 March 1994 and the economic agreement of 2 December 1994, as well as the implementation of any elements of the current United Nations peace-keeping

plan for Croatia which the parties may deem relevant. My delegation acknowledges the efforts of the United States authorities and the Secretary-General's Special Envoy, Mr. Thorvald Stoltenberg, in obtaining this outcome and in trying to define the role and functions of the new Force with the Government of Croatia and the Krajina Serb authorities.

We also share the Secretary-General's belief that the only possible course towards a lasting peace in Croatia is a three-stage process of negotiation that includes the cessation of hostilities, economic normalization and political negotiation. In this regard, we emphasize the work of the Special Representative, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, and the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia towards the resumption of the implementation of the economic agreement and the submission by the Ambassadors of the "Zagreb-4" group of the draft agreement on Krajina, Slavonia, Southern Baranja and Western Sirmium as a basis for political negotiation between the Government of Croatia and the Serb authorities.

Because the peace-keeping operation in Croatia has such important functions, my delegation will support the draft resolution creating the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) for a period ending 30 November 1995.

The same lack of will, lack of confidence and suspicion that typify the parties in Croatia are apparent in the critical situation today in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where most of the provisions of the cease-fire agreement of 23 December 1994 have been ignored. My delegation regrets the fact that there is no real willingness to comply with the provisions of the agreement on a complete cessation of hostilities in order to consolidate the cease-fire and the situation on the ground. In his report, the Secretary-General notes that, in general, in Bosnia and Herzegovina the practices of "ethnic cleansing" in the region of Banja Luka, the humanitarian and security crisis in Bihac, and the armed attacks against civilians and airplanes in Sarajevo continue; that UNPROFOR, UNHCR and other international organizations enjoy no freedom of movement; that there is a lack of cooperation on the part of the Bosnian Government with the joint commissions; that localized offensives and preparations for war are being made by the parties to the conflict; that access roads to the airport of Sarajevo continue to be blocked; and that there has been a lack of progress in the exchange of prisoners of war. In short, there has been a gradual deterioration of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We also regret the lack of interest in extending the cessation-of-hostilities agreement and that, because of the conditions imposed by one side or the other, the ensuing impasse has begun to aggravate the security situation in Sarajevo.

The Government of Honduras is concerned by the fact that both parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina are preparing for a resumption of hostilities and that the efforts of UNPROFOR to achieve a cease-fire in Bihac have not been successful. We also believe that the Krajina Serbs' continued hindrance of UNPROFOR and UNHCR in their distribution of humanitarian aid and assistance to the Bihac enclave is deplorable.

We feel nevertheless that these facts should not obscure the important role which the Protection Force has played in support of the peace process, particularly in the promotion of relations between the Bosnian and Croatian sides of the Federation. My delegation considers that the presence of a United Nations operation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is necessary to prevent and contain hostilities, create conditions for a political settlement, establish peace and encourage reconciliation between the parties just as necessary as closing the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and those parts of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina controlled by the Bosnian Serb forces. In this regard, we express our gratitude to the authorities of Belgrade for their cooperation with the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, which periodically issues confirmations of compliance with the commitment on sealing the border. For these reasons, my delegation will support the draft resolution before the Council extending the mandate of UNPROFOR in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina for an additional period to end on 30 November 1995.

With regard to the situation of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, my delegation believes that while the important work of the Secretary-General's Special Envoy, his Special Representative and UNPROFOR has, by acting preventively, lessened the tensions between the various ethnic groups that arose from the parliamentary and presidential elections of 1994 and the announcement of this year's census, the fragile state of the country's economy, together with the lack of recognition of its borders by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), are potential elements for internal destabilization that are threatening the system of government and may lead to confrontation. That is why my delegation believes that greater

international assistance should be provided for that country's economy, and why we support the Secretary-General's suggestion that a joint border commission should begin its work to establish a clearly defined international border between The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

Given the important role of UNPROFOR in peace-keeping, in facilitating the reconciliation process and in promoting respect for human rights and a general decrease in tensions in other areas of the former Yugoslavia, my delegation will support the decision to replace UNPROFOR with the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP), with the mandate recommended by the Secretary-General in his report, to end on 30 November 1995.

Lastly, we wish to express our satisfaction on the assurances given this morning by the Permanent Representative of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia that his Government will cooperate fully with UNPREDEP.

Mr. Ferrarin (Italy): At the outset, Sir, allow me, through you, to congratulate Ambassador Li Zhaoxing on the wise and skilful way in which he has guided the work of the Council during the month of March. Our appreciation and thanks go also to his predecessor, Ambassador Legwaila.

Italy welcomes the consideration today of the three draft resolutions that it helped to draft and that it joins in sponsoring. While confirming the vital importance of the continued presence of United Nations forces in the former Yugoslavia, the draft resolutions would modify the general architecture of that presence in conformity with the specific requests by the Governments of Croatia and of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia that the forces deployed in those two countries should be given autonomous profiles, and with the consequent recommendations contained in paragraph 84 of the Secretary-General's report (S/1995/222 and Corr.1).

While fully understanding the political reasons at the origin of the requests of the countries concerned, Italy has always believed in the need to maintain unity of political direction and military command in the field for the three separate but interlinked forces. Thus, I wish to emphasize the importance of the reference in operative paragraph 1 of all three draft resolutions to the arrangements set out in paragraph 84 of the Secretary-General's report, which respond to this need in a manner that we find fully satisfactory.

Turning to the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO), paragraph 3 of draft resolution S/1995/242 gives the outlines of its mandate, which is based on the recent agreement between the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the United States, and on the statement issued in Copenhagen by President Tudjman. It is essential that the Security Council approve the general architecture of the mandate today, that is, before the expiration of the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), although the new mandate cannot become operative until the end of the consultations currently under way between Mr. Stoltenberg, the Government of the Republic of Croatia, and the local Serbian authorities.

These consultations must proceed quickly and constructively to take advantage of the momentum that will be created by today's adoption of the outlines of the mandate. For this reason, paragraph 4 of draft resolution S/1995/242 indicates the not-too-distant date of 21 April, by when the Secretary-General is to have reported to the Council on the results of the consultations, for its approval.

The transition period between the expiration of UNPROFOR's mandate today and the effective deployment of the new United Nations force in Croatia will be quite delicate. Paragraph 4 of draft resolution S/1995/243 is very important because, on a basis of the willingness shown by the Croatian Government for UNPROFOR to do so, it would decide that UNPROFOR shall continue to perform its functions during the interim period.

It must be stressed that UNCRO and the other two peace-keeping operations in the former Yugoslavia cannot be an end in themselves or a final solution. Paragraph 5 of draft resolution S/1995/242 duly states that UNCRO shall be an interim arrangement to create the conditions that will facilitate a comprehensive negotiated settlement consistent with the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia and with the security and rights of all its communities. Thus, it is not and cannot be seen as an instrument that would freeze and perpetuate a de facto situation which we consider unacceptable.

As for Bosnia and Herzegovina, I wish to emphasize the importance of the appeal to the Bosnian parties contained in paragraph 7 of draft resolution S/1995/243,

to fully implement their agreements of December 1994 on a cease-fire and on a complete cessation of hostilities, agreements which the Council hopes will be extended past 30 April in order to create conditions favourable to the negotiation of an overall peaceful settlement on the basis of the acceptance of the Contact Group's peace plan as a starting point.

We must remember that the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina has already accepted this peace plan, while the Bosnian Serb party has not. One month before the expiration of these agreements, we are very concerned by the new escalation of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina and by its potentially negative effects on the peace process. Both the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian Serb authorities must exercise the maximum restraint and must realize once and for all that there can be no military solution to the conflict, only a comprehensive political solution such as will restore the peaceful coexistence of the various ethnic, cultural and religious components that have lived together in Bosnia and Herzegovina for centuries. We are sincerely convinced that the presence of UNPROFOR in that country can ultimately contribute to achieving that goal.

Turning to The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, I wish to express my country's appreciation for the important function of political stabilization that UNPROFOR has thus far carried out in that country, a function recognized in the Secretary-General's report and reflected in the third draft resolution (S/1995/244). This is a first example of the preventive deployment of United Nations forces, which has helped to prevent the spillover of the conflict to other areas in former Yugoslavia, and to defuse the tensions existing in that multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society. Keeping those forces in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, although under the different name of the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP), is essential to the search for a definitive, stable and prosperous model of coexistence and cooperation between the various components of that country's population.

Finally, I wish to pay a special tribute to all members of UNPROFOR, who have shown great courage and dedication in the accomplishment of their duties, and especially to those who have lost their lives in the cause of peace in the former Yugoslavia.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of Italy for the kind words he addressed to Ambassador Li Zhaoxing.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): Today is the Council's first full formal debate in the month of March, so we finally have the opportunity officially to convey, through you, our congratulations to the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations on China's presidency of the Security Council for this month, and to thank him for his able guidance of the Council's work.

The draft resolutions before the Security Council, which the Russian Federation has joined in sponsoring, bear witness to the international community's unwavering determination to reinforce peace and stability in the territory of the former Yugoslavia as quickly as possible. Over the past three years, and still today, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has played an irreplaceable role in limiting the conflict, providing humanitarian assistance to the civilian population and putting in place the necessary conditions for progress towards a political settlement.

Like other members of the Council, we pay tribute to the courage and selflessness of the soldiers, officers and all other personnel of the United Nations Protection Force — including Russians — who have endangered their lives to do their duty in the former Yugoslavia.

The presence of UNPROFOR has helped stop a cruel war in Croatia and prevent a resumption of hostilities there; it has protected the civilian population. Important specific results of UNPROFOR's efforts include the achievement of a cease-fire and the conclusion of an economic agreement between the Government of Croatia and the local Serb authorities. This has helped create the climate of trust between the parties that is so essential for further dialogue on political matters.

Unfortunately, into the process of normalizing the situation in Croatia, which had been advancing albeit rather slowly, a destabilizing element was introduced with the statement by the Government of the Republic of Croatia on ending UNPROFOR's mandate in Croatia. It was of the utmost significance that the Security Council and the entire international community regarded this notion of withdrawing United Nations forces as unacceptable and insisted on maintaining a United Nations peace-keeping presence in Croatia, the alternative to which would have been the unavoidable resumption of hostilities. It is a good thing that the Government of

Croatia finally agreed, and reconsidered its original position.

In establishing the new United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO), the Security Council — and this is reflected in the draft resolution — states that UNCRO's mandate should be directed primarily towards meeting the main challenges: preventing a resumption of war, protecting the civilian population and promoting efforts towards a political settlement through strengthening trust between the parties on the basis of the progress that has already been made.

The Council affirms its commitment to the provisions of the Vance plan, in all their urgency, in accordance with the recommendations in the Secretary-General's report. The adoption of a new mandate for this operation in Croatia is absolutely necessary, but is only a first step. The Security Council has now defined, taking account of the recommendations of the Secretary-General, the necessary political and legal foundation, and on this basis the Secretary-General and his representatives now have work of the utmost importance to do on continuing the consultations on the question of the actual implementation of the mandate and the modalities for this operation, all aspects of which have to be acceptable to both parties to the conflict. Both the Government of Croatia and the local Serbian authorities must show a constructive attitude and, with assistance from the international mediators, must come to an agreement on this matter, which is of decisive importance for any settlement of the conflict.

Of particular importance here is the fact that right now, before the deployment of the new operation, both sides have already reaffirmed their firm commitment to resolving the problems between them by peaceful means, through negotiations. This is also a requirement set forth in the Security Council's draft resolution. In this connection, we are seriously concerned by reports that Croatian units have violated the area controlled by the United Nations Forces, and by the parties' military preparations as a whole. The adoption of the draft resolution must be seen as a clear signal that such actions are inadmissible and as a reaffirmation of the United Nations mandate to stop them.

In supporting the decision to extend the mandate of UNPROFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we should like to emphasize that the prospects for the future development of the situation in that Republic, including the fate of the United Nations operation, depend to a large extent on the good will of the parties to the conflict and on how far they comply with existing agreements. We are concerned about the large-scale offensives by the Government forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina and by the Bosnian Serbs' retaliatory shelling of the safe areas and blocking of humanitarian convoys. This concern is clearly reflected in the draft resolutions.

We urge the parties to abide strictly by the agreements which they voluntarily entered into on a cease-fire and a cessation of hostilities, and to cooperate with UNPROFOR in carrying out the provisions of those agreements. We believe it necessary for the parties to reach agreement on extending the duration of those agreements. Along with the other members of the Security Council, we urge the Bosnian Serbs also to accept the Contact Group plan.

The recent flare-up of hostilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina has a lot to do with the continuing illegal supplies of arms to the region, which are merely hardening the parties' positions and creating a false impression that the conflict can be resolved by military means. The interests of a peaceful settlement, and also the security interests of the United Nations personnel, require that there must be a clamp-down in implementing the arms embargo against all the Republics of the former Yugoslavia provided for under resolution 713 (1991). We believe that the Security Council must pay greater attention to this issue, and that it is essential also that the Committee on Sanctions should finally take up this problem of violations of the military supplies embargo, as it was directly instructed to do by the Security Council.

In response to the wishes of the Government of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the Security Council has decided to deploy the United Nations peace-keeping presence there as a separate operation. We are convinced that the United Nations forces — which are preventive in nature — will continue to help maintain peace and stability in this Republic and overcome many of the problems and difficulties it faces.

The conflicts in the former Yugoslavia are very closely interrelated. Complications arising in one place have an unavoidable impact elsewhere. In this connection, we attach particular importance to the fact that the Security Council, in reorganizing UNPROFOR and establishing three independent peace-keeping operations in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, has taken the important decision to maintain a unified political and military command for the three operations. We see this

as an important condition for ensuring that the new operations operate successfully, and we hope that the work of the United Nations Forces, together with the efforts of all the international actors in the settlement process, will help bring about a final, peaceful solution to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

These important decisions agreed on within the Security Council bear witness, *inter alia*, to the Contact Group's resolve to use their collective efforts in promoting progress towards a settlement of the Yugoslav crisis by political means. The Contact Group has shown once again that it is capable of maintaining its unity, even in a situation of great emotional heat between the parties to the conflict. We are also pleased to see — and this is demonstrated in the joint and intensive work carried out on the draft resolutions — that the mood for a constructive political settlement to the Yugoslav crisis is shared also by the caucus of the non-aligned countries and by the other members of the Security Council.

Russia, whose soldiers, half a century ago, made a decisive contribution to the liberation of all the peoples of former Yugoslavia, is particularly interested in establishing peace, stability and democracy in this region of Europe. It is in our common interests, and it is part of our common efforts, to ensure that this period, when the States of Europe are celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of victory and the end of the Second World War, should become a time when there is a decisive breakthrough away from war and towards peace in the Balkans. We hope that the consensus arrived at in the Security Council on these three resolutions will help towards that end.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for his kind words addressed to the President of the Council.

We have heard the last speaker before proceeding to the vote on the draft resolutions.

I shall first put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/242.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 981 (1995).

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/243.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 982 (1995).

I shall next put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/244.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 983 (1995).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Inderfurth (United States of America): May I begin by expressing my delegation's appreciation to Ambassador Li Zhaoxing for his excellent service as President of the Council this month and to you, Sir, for your very able substitution and quick gavel today. May I also express my delegation's indebtedness to the Permanent Representative of Botswana for his stewardship of the Council in February.

We voted on these resolutions today determined to prevent, if we can, a wider war in the Balkans. We proceed in the hope that leaders in the region do not want such a war and that, given time, they will agree to the

principles of sovereignty, law and respect for human rights that could form the basis for a lasting peace.

Since its creation three years ago, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the former Yugoslavia has performed a multitude of difficult tasks. It has saved hundreds of thousands of lives and restrained — although it sometimes has been unable to prevent — further aggression and violence. There has been understandable frustration, on the part of the Governments of both Croatia and Bosnia, with UNPROFOR's limitations. But the withdrawal of the United Nations Force from either country at this time is not a solution to those frustrations, but, rather, an invitation to a new round of intense violence that would cause further destruction of economic and social structures and leave thousands more dead.

My Government supports continued diplomatic efforts, through the Contact Group, to discourage new fighting and to gain viable political settlements both in Croatia and Bosnia. The intransigence of the Bosnian Serb faction remains the major obstacle to peace. Renewed efforts to tighten sanctions directed against that faction are warranted.

With these general considerations in mind, I would like to address the specific resolutions we have just adopted.

First, with respect to Croatia, we understand the concern expressed by President Tudjman's Government that the situation on the ground, with approximately one quarter of Croatia's territory under local Serb control, has become increasingly untenable. This is because important elements of the Vance plan designed to achieve a permanent solution that respects the territorial sovereignty of Croatia have not been implemented.

Today, the Council is proposing a new United Nations peace-keeping force with a new mandate to assist in controlling Croatia's international border, help implement the Cease-Fire and Economic Agreements and facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance through Croatia to Bosnia.

The creation of this new force underlines the Council's commitment to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia within its internationally recognized borders. That is why this new operation will be called the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia. The Government of Croatia, and only the Government of Croatia, has the right to control Croatia's international borders.

My Government is concerned that goods are crossing these borders in violation of paragraph 12 of Security Council resolution 820 (1993), without Croatia's permission or knowledge.

The resolution adopted today can be considered a constructive response to a complex, dangerous and tangled situation. It is better than renewed war, but it does not, in itself, resolve the fundamental social, political and security-related issues that now divide Croatia. Even the details of how the new United Nations force will operate must still be worked out. The continued international presence will keep open a window of opportunity within which the parties may negotiate to settle their differences. Whether that opportunity is seized or squandered is up to the parties; a settlement cannot be imposed by the Council or by any other outside force.

My Government expresses its appreciation to other Council members for their help and cooperation in coming to agreement on this important resolution. Special respect is due also to President Tudjman and his Government for their wisdom and statesmanship — despite intense pressure and justifiable frustration — in choosing a path that will maximize prospects for a durable peace.

The same general considerations that apply to the presence of a United Nations force in Croatia apply in Bosnia as well. The current situation is unsatisfactory; the alternative of withdrawal and renewed all-out war is worse.

UNPROFOR in Bosnia has not achieved its mandates in full, but its presence, assisted at times by North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) enforcement measures, has saved lives and helped make possible the creation of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

My Government is concerned by the recent increase in violence in violation of the agreed-upon cease-fire, which runs through the end of April. We urge an end to these violations and an extension of the cessation of hostilities beyond 30 April. We urge also that the parties allow implementation of all elements of the original agreement, including separation of forces and the interposition of UNPROFOR troops along the separation line.

My Government is also concerned by the continued, blatant violation of human rights by the Bosnian Serb party, especially in the Banja Luka area. We wish to remind those guilty of human rights violations that they will be held personally responsible for their crimes.

The presence of United Nations forces in Bosnia is not an end in itself: to have meaning, it must contribute to political progress. Such progress is dependent, in turn, on the will of the parties. The same is true of an agreement to cease hostilities temporarily. Real solutions depend on the willingness of political leaders to make hard decisions — to accept peace as a goal and to compromise in order to allow communities to rebuild, children to live like children and parents to put food on the table at night. Here, the responsibility for failure thus far rests squarely on the Bosnian Serb party for its unwillingness to enter into negotiations on the basis of the Contact Group plan.

Finally, in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the name of the United Nations force deployed here will change, but its purpose — to deter the spread of conflict — will not. The change acknowledges that the circumstances in the three countries where UNPROFOR forces have been deployed differ and that specifically tailored mandates are required. At the same time, by retaining important links between the forces, the Council recognizes that tensions and conflict in the region are closely connected and that efficiency of operations is essential.

In summary, we have reached another bend in the road in our effort to contain and ultimately settle the complex and tragic conflicts that erupted in Croatia and Bosnia following the breakup of Yugoslavia. In the resolution we approved today on Croatia, we may be satisfied that we have avoided an immediate and disastrous widening of the war. That is no small accomplishment. But whether we have bought more than time for Bosnia or Croatia we cannot now determine. In the weeks ahead we must continue our diplomatic efforts on all fronts, while recognizing that the ultimate success or failure of those efforts will be determined — as they must — by the people of the region itself.

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of the United States for his kind words addressed to Ambassador Li Zhaoxing and to myself.

Mr. Mérimée (France) (*interpretation from French*): The three resolutions which our Council has just adopted are of major importance, for two reasons. It has been decided both to continue the United Nations presence in the former Yugoslavia and to give the existing force a new, differentiated, structure, while preserving the unity of political and military leadership.

The Council adopted these three resolutions unanimously, and I wish to say that my delegation fully appreciates the spirit of cooperation that characterized the discussions between the sponsors and their Council partners.

My delegation welcomes the fact that the Croatian Government has finally accepted the continuation of the United Nations presence on its territory. This presence is essential if we are to avoid a resumption of hostilities and to foster negotiations with a view to a political settlement. The resolution we have just adopted defines the broad outlines of a new mandate which should permit the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) to carry out several missions that we regard as essential: implementation of the Cease-Fire Agreement of 29 March 1994, the application of the Economic Agreement of 2 December 1994 and the monitoring of Croatia's international borders, which reflects the Council's concern to ensure that its sovereignty and territorial integrity be preserved. The mandate will have to be spelled out in order to be implemented, and in this connection we await the next report of the Secretary-General. Until the new mandate is implemented, transitional arrangements are contemplated to ensure the continuation of the principal missions of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Croatia and to allow the necessary redeployment to begin.

It must be clear to all that the goal of UNCRO's presence is to help reach a political settlement. We call upon the Government of Croatia and the local Serb authorities to continue their negotiations on confidence-building measures and to resolutely commit themselves to a negotiated settlement, for which the United Nations, the European Union, the Russian Federation and the United States have all striven.

UNPROFOR's mandate in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been renewed. Here again, it is a matter of the Force's continuing to carry out essential missions, whether overseeing the implementation of cease-fire and cessation of hostilities agreements or allowing humanitarian assistance to continue.

My delegation reminds the Council that keeping UNPROFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina is not an end in itself. We must be seriously concerned by the recent increase in serious violations of the cease-fire and cessation of hostilities agreements, and we ask the parties, as the agreements are about to expire, to exercise the greatest restraint; it is imperative that the agreements be extended. It is up to the parties to show their desire to reach an overall political settlement. The sole purpose of UNPROFOR's presence is to facilitate a conclusion. We call upon the Serbs of Bosnia, once again, to accept the proposals presented by the Contact Group as a starting point. Without such acceptance, no settlement will be possible.

I would now like to express the satisfaction of my delegation with regard to the renewal, under a new name, of the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP) in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. We welcome the fact that the Macedonian Government has clearly indicated its desire to see the United Nations preventive deployment maintained, which contributes significantly to the maintenance of peace and security in the region.

Allow me now to the return to the new configuration of the United Nations presence in the former Yugoslavia. UNPROFOR has just been restructured into three distinct operations. We are satisfied with the solution chosen, which preserves the unity of command and of political leadership over the entire theatre, as well as the logistical and organizational interrelationship of the three Forces. We regard this as essential. We believe that respect for this principle of unity strengthens both the security of the troops deployed and the means available to the United Nations to facilitate negotiations in a theatre where the problems are closely intertwined, in particular between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this connection, we would like to emphasize that the theatre commander must continue to exercise full authority over all the Blue Helmets deployed throughout the territories of successor States to the former Yugoslavia. This means that the civilian authorities under the Special Representative of the Secretary-General will not assume responsibilities within the chain of military command, and that the theatre commander will have full responsibility for the implementation of the three mandates entrusted to the United Nations Forces.

Finally, I should like to pay tribute to the UNPROFOR personnel, who over these past three years have displayed exceptional courage and dedication, and particularly to those who have fallen in carrying out their duties.

Mr. Ayewah (Nigeria): Allow me to extend to you, Sir, the courtesies of the Nigerian delegation as you perform the duties of President of the Council this month. Let me also express our gratitude to the Permanent Representative of Botswana for his conduct of the Council's business during February.

It can be rightly stated that today developments in the former Yugoslav territory have reached a critical point. My delegation was therefore pleased to vote in support of the three resolutions just adopted on a continued United Nations presence in the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

It is important that the United Nations continue to provide whatever assistance it can in the ongoing efforts to resolve the political problems in the three countries, aside from concerns over social dislocation, displacement of population and other human problems that have developed as a result.

On Croatia, my delegation shares the Secretary-General's view that the three-phase process of negotiations — cessation of hostilities, economic normalization and political negotiation — is the only practical path to a durable peace. This was valid at the time of the outbreak of hostilities, and it remains so even today. The present resolution on Croatia approves a framework for a reduced Force level and the tasks to be performed by such a Force.

It is our expectation that whatever Force level is eventually agreed upon between all the parties will be such as to enable the United Nations Force to fulfil the responsibilities outlined in the current resolution — namely, performing fully the functions envisaged in the Cease-Fire Agreement between the Republic of Croatia and the rival Serb authorities; facilitating the implementation, *inter alia*, of the Economic Agreement of 2 December 1994; assisting in controlling the crossing of military personnel, equipment, supplies and weapons over the international borders between the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro); facilitating the delivery of international humanitarian assistance to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina through Croatia; and monitoring the demilitarization of the Prevlaka Peninsula.

My delegation believes that continued close cooperation between the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Croatian Government and local Serb authorities is crucial to achieving a lasting political settlement in Croatia. In this regard, we underline the urgent need for the Government of Croatia to conclude early agreements on the status of forces and other personnel so as to enable the new United Nations presence to take off.

Confident of the important role that a suitable radio and television broadcast facility can play in information dissemination, public enlightenment and confidence-building in Croatia, my delegation wishes to join in appealing to the Croatian Government to cooperate with the United Nations by granting the necessary access.

On the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, my delegation would like to join other delegations in emphasizing the responsibilities of all parties in ensuring that UNPROFOR is able to perform its tasks without let or hindrance and without further intimidation and violence. We regret, in this connection, that the Contact Group peace plan, to which the Government of Bosnia has agreed, has still not been accepted by the Bosnian Serb party. We urge the Bosnian Serbs, therefore, to reconsider the situation and to accept the plan as a starting-point for the negotiation of a peaceful solution to the conflict. We hope that the parties in conflict will soon realize that continuation of the war is a futile option, and that all hands must be on deck to seek a durable solution.

Concerning The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, my delegation is in full support of the establishment of the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP), with a mandate for a period terminating on 30 November 1995. The preventive role that the force deployed by the United Nations has already played in Macedonia has been instrumental in building a climate of trust and confidence in the country. We are convinced that a continued presence is not only useful in itself, but particularly favourable to reinforcing the independence and territorial integrity of Macedonia.

With these three resolutions in place, the international community ensures that it will continue to be directly involved, especially through the United Nations, in mediating a peaceful solution to the problem in the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Clearly, as in all conflict situations, the international community can only assist the parties, which must play the leading role.

It is my delegation's hope that these conflicts, which have dragged on for far too long and have brought untold hardships to the ordinary people in the Republic of Croatia, in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, will soon be resolved peacefully.

The President *(interpretation from Chinese):* I thank the representative of Nigeria for his kind words addressed to the President of the Council.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): I should like to offer my congratulations to Ambassador Li Zhaoxing — somewhat belatedly, as this is the thirty-first day of the month during which he has presided over the Council, but better late than never — and to you, Sir, who have presided today like someone who had been doing so for 31 days rather than just one. Also, I thank the Ambassador of Botswana for his chairing of the Council last month.

My Government welcomes the adoption of these three resolutions. We hope that they will help to sustain a continued United Nations presence in the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and to underpin the continuing efforts of the international community to bring about a peaceful solution to the problems of the region.

It is fashionable to belittle the achievements of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). But they have been considerable, and they have been attained only at considerable human cost. So far, as other Permanent Representatives have reminded us, UNPROFOR has lost 155 soldiers killed and has had 1,366 wounded. I should like at this stage to express my gratitude to the Ambassador of Botswana for the extremely eloquent way in which he spoke about UNPROFOR's contribution. As my country has nearly 4,000 troops in Bosnia, this was a very welcome thing to hear, and I hope that the Ambassador's words fell on fertile ground. The international community as a whole should recognize the courage of the troops who are willing to take these risks, and the commitment of their Governments.

In Bosnia, UNPROFOR has escorted convoys, negotiated and monitored cease-fire agreements and heavy-weapons agreements, mounted anti-sniper patrols and, where possible, helped to begin the painful task of rehabilitation and reconstruction. Progress on consolidating the Bosnian-Croat Federation depends

crucially on UNPROFOR's work in disengaging the two sides' forces and dismantling the confrontation lines. It is no exaggeration to say that there are hundreds of thousands of people alive today in Bosnia because of UNPROFOR. I would not claim, however, that UNPROFOR has never failed in its efforts. But too often those who criticize it misunderstand the nature of peace-keeping operations and expect UNPROFOR to undertake tasks for which it has neither the mandate nor the resources.

UNPROFOR in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is a strikingly successful example of preventive action. When The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia entered the United Nations two years ago there were many who did not expect it to survive. UNPROFOR has played an invaluable role in maintaining the stability of that country's borders and as a symbol of international commitment to its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

UNPROFOR in Croatia has also had its successes. The Yugoslav army was successfully, and peacefully, disengaged. Some stability has been achieved in a tense and volatile situation. UNPROFOR has been able to monitor the Cease-Fire Agreement and, more recently, to facilitate the implementation of the Economic Agreement between the Croatian Government and the Krajina Serbs. Those who have driven from Zagreb to Belgrade on the reopened highway will have experienced a striking example of UNPROFOR's work.

My Government, however, understands very well the frustration of the Croatian Government at the slow rate of progress. Key elements of the Vance plan remain unimplemented — in particular, the demilitarization of the United Nations Protected Areas and the return of refugees and displaced persons. But the withdrawal of United Nations forces would not advance the Croatian Government's legitimate aims. On the contrary, the increased tensions would only exacerbate the risk of renewed fighting in Croatia, which could all too easily spill over into a wider conflict. This would be a disaster for Croatia and for the region as a whole.

We hope that all those concerned in Croatia will now work constructively under the mandate for the new United Nations Force which the Security Council has agreed today. We attach particular importance to the early conclusion and implementation of a status-of-forces agreement. The Force in Croatia will need to continue to monitor the cease-fire between the two sides, which is vital to continued stability, and it will also need to facilitate the implementation of the Economic Agreement. It will monitor Croatia's internationally recognized borders.

Negotiating a mandate for the new Force has been a difficult, but important, task. My Government warmly commends the efforts of Mr Stoltenberg and Mr Akashi. We now urge all concerned to cooperate fully in the implementation phase so as to ensure the deployment of the new Force as quickly and smoothly as possible. Fresh obstacles created now will merely delay progress in the peace process and in bringing about the mutual recognition of the States of the former Yugoslavia for which we are all working.

My Government remains fully committed to Croatia's sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders. At the same time, it is essential that a satisfactory autonomous status and protection for individual rights be firmly established for the Krajina Serbs if the much needed reconstruction and rehabilitation is to go ahead. The deployment of the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) will clear the way for further talks on economic normalization, and the start of talks on a political settlement. The latter, as the Contact Group has urged, should not be long delayed.

Sadly, the more encouraging news from Croatia is not matched in Bosnia. My Government is increasingly concerned by the slide towards a resumed war. No side is likely to win outright victory. A negotiated settlement remains the only way to lasting peace. A further escalation in the fighting would put at risk the political process, increase the difficulties in delivering humanitarian aid, which benefits all those in need, and could even call into question UNPROFOR's ability to remain in Bosnia. We believe this would be disastrous, in particular for the real victims, the ordinary people of Bosnia. We therefore appeal to all sides to show restraint, and to cooperate with UNPROFOR in implementing the cessation-of-hostilities agreement. That agreement should be extended in order that the political process can continue. The Contact Group will be visiting the region again next week. We urge all sides to respond constructively to the proposals the Group will be putting forward so that the desperately needed progress in the peace process can be achieved.

The President *(interpretation from Chinese):* I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he addressed to Ambassador Li Zhaoxing and to me.

Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: At the outset, Sir, allow me to express the satisfaction of my delegation at seeing you presiding over this meeting, heading the delegation of China, and to thank you for the work you and your delegation have done throughout this month. I should also like to convey my thanks to the delegation of Botswana for its work last month, carried out with efficiency and a great sense of humour, through its Ambassador.

Today, in the light of the comprehensive report of the Secretary-General, the Council decided on the renewal of the United Nations presence in the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Three years have elapsed since the establishment and original deployment of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), which has undoubtedly become the most ambitious and complex peace-keeping operation ever to be organized by the United Nations in its 50-year history.

This operation attests to the effort, as well as the generous sacrifice, which the international community has made, and continues to make, for the States which made up the former Yugoslavia. Regrettably, this sacrifice can be measured by the many human lives lost and the significant volume of resources dedicated to this difficult operation.

The Argentine Republic has been contributing to this effort ever since the initial deployment of UNPROFOR, with an infantry battalion deployed in Western Slavonia, in the Republic of Croatia, as well as with military observers and civilian police deployed in the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. To date, almost 7,000 members of the Argentine armed forces have done the 15,000-kilometre round trip to and from the Balkans in order to offer the solidarity of the people of Argentina to the people of the Balkans.

Argentina, like other troop-contributing countries, has, with the loss of some of its men, borne its tragic share of the sacrifice that the international community has generously chosen to make in order to contribute to the achievement of a lasting peace in the Balkans.

The United Nations Protection Force is a peace-keeping operation, subject to all the conditions and limitations entailed in such an operation. When the international community decides to establish a peace-keeping force, it does so on the understanding that the forces deployed are not there to fight, nor to take sides in a conflict, but, rather — with an entirely different logic — that of peace — to assist in creating conditions for the parties themselves to make progress in the search for a negotiated solution. This assumes, first, that the parties have decided that armed confrontation is no longer a valid option and, secondly, that they sincerely wish to engage in peaceful dialogue and to show mutual respect and tolerance.

The parties to the conflict must understand that the United Nations is there essentially to allow for the development of the necessary conditions for dialogue and negotiations.

This afternoon we have adopted three resolutions which establish three peace-keeping operations based on UNPROFOR.

The United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) is probably the most novel of the three. The Government of Croatia has requested the United Nations to reconsider the methods and objectives of the deployment of the United Nations Force in its country. We would like to emphasize in this context the successful efforts made by the Vice-President of the United States working with the President of the Republic of Croatia. They were decisive in the achievement of the consensus reflected in the resolutions that were considered today.

Therefore, there has now been established with respect to Croatia a new operation with a different mandate, and we hope that in the coming weeks there will be agreement on the details, which will undoubtedly be of great importance for the success of the operation. The Argentine Republic is by and large ready to retain its men in theatre in accordance with United Nations decisions.

We hope, however, that this new stage will mean a renewed commitment by the parties to this new operation, which will make it possible for our troops and those of other contingents to work in a cooperative way, with mutual respect and in safety.

The Argentine Republic, while recognizing and supporting the Republic of Croatia's objective of respect for its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as its desire to exercise effective control and authority over its entire territory, believes that conditions in the Republic of Croatia already exist for rapid progress and for the consolidation and perfection of the important agreements, including economic agreements, concluded

with the Croatian Serbs. For all these reasons, it would be a serious mistake to waste this opportunity and to venture along different paths that could lead to unforeseeable consequences, not only for Croatia, but also for the whole region.

With regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina, the new resolution renews the mandate of UNPROFOR for eight months. That Force has carried out a very difficult and sensitive task in a conflict where, regrettably, despite the continued efforts of the international community, the solution still appears uncertain.

The Secretary-General's report and other information from the field confirm that the situation is delicate. Recent days have seen major violations of the cease-fire which could, God forbid, result in a general spread of the armed confrontation. In this context, we are concerned by the increased number of incidents in the long-suffering city of Sarajevo.

We are also concerned by the lack of cooperation of the various parties with UNPROFOR's personnel and tasks. As we have said before, the United Nations, while recognizing the territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is there to take no other side but that of peace. In the weeks to come we really shall see if there is any true commitment to preserving the cease-fire. If there is none, the Security Council will then have to weigh up its potential courses of action, including the extreme option which would be to withdraw the Force.

In The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, thank God, the situation is different; here we have what is in effect the first preventive deployment, now known as the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP), which has been a successful experiment. This should not make us forget, however, that the situation in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is precarious indeed, especially in the economic and social fields, which, unfortunately, are suffering deeply as a result of the economic sanctions imposed multilaterally on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and, unilaterally, on The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia itself by a State Member of the United Nations. We hope that, with the cooperation of the various parties, this situation can be got back on track by a solution that would allow The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to grow in peace and prosperity.

I would reiterate that the Argentine Republic is deeply committed, along with the international community, to trying to assist the States that once made up Yugoslavia. This commitment is still in force. However, I must make clear that it is up to the parties in question to make the main efforts in the search for peace. The adoption of these three resolutions is tangible proof of the international communities' commitment, but that commitment is nevertheless not without limits.

Before I end my statement, my delegation wishes to offer a special thanks to the Secretary-General, to his Special Representative Mr. Yasushi Akashi, to all the troops and civilian personnel of UNPROFOR and to their families, and also to the humanitarian and other regional and private organizations which, with their truly tireless efforts, have contributed and continue to contribute to this task.

The President: I thank the representative of Argentina for his kind words addressed to the Chinese delegation.

Mr. Ubalijoro (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation would like, through you, to pay a tribute to Ambassador Li Zhaoxing for the excellent and pragmatic way in which he has presided over the Council this month.

My delegation would also like to thank his predecessor, the Ambassador of Botswana, for his dynamic and competent manner of conducting the Council's work last month.

The Security Council has just decided to renew the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force. This would suggest that the United Nations is firmly resolved to establish a lasting peace in the countries concerned and that it is determined to reinvigorate the Force and make it even more effective. The delegation of Rwanda would like this attitude to have a positive and tangible effect, which would require a series of conditions and prerequisites. First, the United Nations forces are united for peace and to maintain peace. That is why the will for peace of the countries parties to the conflict must constantly be played upon. Secondly, the forces must act in response to a commitment to peace between all the parties involved and the United Nations Force.

In this connection, the continued practice of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia and Croatia would seem incompatible with the search for peace. This is also true when a State's borders continue to be violated in

contempt of international law and the principle of territorial integrity.

The Council's credibility would be put at stake were it to give a peace-keeping force an empty mandate. The time used to consider the mandate must not be wasted; it must rather be an opportunity to reflect deeply on the real need to resolve conflicts.

As to the situation in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, my delegation would wish any armed conflict to be as narrowly confined as possible, in time and especially in space. It proclaims its belief in the peaceful settlement of disputes and in mutual respect between States.

The painful memory of the recent bloody events in Rwanda that arose from the rejection of the other allows us to sympathize with the many victims of "ethnic cleansing" among our brothers and sisters in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Rwanda will spare no effort in considering, along with others, solutions aimed at ending the great range of conflicts afflicting many countries today. That is why my delegation decided to vote in favour of the three resolutions just adopted.

The President: I thank the representative of Rwanda for his kind words addressed to the Chinese presidency.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of China.

(spoke in Chinese)

The question of the former Yugoslavia has dragged on for a long time without resolution, and little progress has been achieved in the process of finding an overall political settlement. In two Republics, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the conflicts continue unabated, the humanitarian situation continues to deteriorate and great losses of life and property have been incurred. The Chinese delegation wishes to express its profound concern in this regard.

China has no self-interests whatsoever in the region of the former Yugoslavia. We have consistently maintained that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States of the region should be respected. We hope that these States will recognize each other as soon as possible and seek a political settlement, acceptable to all sides, through negotiation. In particular, we appeal to the parties to the conflict to consider the fundamental interests of the people, immediately cease all hostilities, and implement in earnest agreements already reached — particularly the cease-fire agreement — in order to create conditions for building confidence and pursuing political negotiations.

At root, the settlement of the conflict in the region of the former Yugoslavia will ultimately depend on the peoples of the region themselves and must be achieved through peaceful means. United Nations peace-keeping operations can play only a complementary role.

We note that, since its establishment, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has played a positive role in containing the conflict, protecting the security of the local civilian population and carrying out humanitarian relief activities. However, for various reasons, UNPROFOR has not fully met expectations in fulfilling its mission. As requested by the parties concerned, the Secretary-General has proposed the division of UNPROFOR into three parts in those three States of the former Yugoslavia, and has offered revisions to their mandates. We hope that this will help create an appropriate atmosphere and give further impetus to the political settlement process.

For all these reasons, the Chinese delegation voted in favour of the three resolutions just adopted. United Nations peace-keeping operations should conform strictly to the purposes and principles of the Charter. The consent and support of the parties concerned are important preconditions for the deployment of such operations. We urge those parties to cooperate fully with United Nations peace-keeping operations in order to ensure that they can accomplish their missions effectively.

In conclusion, the Chinese delegation reiterates that it has reservations about taking enforcement action and about the use of force in peace-keeping operations under Chapter VII of the Charter.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

Statement by the President

The President (*interpretation from Chinese*): This is the last day of March. During the past month, China, as President of the Security Council, has enjoyed the full cooperation of the members of the Council and the other Members of the United Nations. Our friends in the Secretariat too provided a great deal of help and excellent service. I wish to take this opportunity, on behalf of Ambassador Li Zhaoxing and the rest of the Chinese delegation, to express to you all our heartfelt thanks. We wish all members a very good weekend.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.